

Six Months Aint No Sentence
2016
Jim Leftwich

Book 184

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08.04.2016

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Mail Art Call: What Is Participatory Democracy?
Organized by Jim Leftwich and Warren Fry
in conjunction with Community High School

What Is Participatory Democracy? In Roanoke, it has taken the forms of shadow school activities, collab fests, anti business-lounge meetings, Philosophy Inc projects and walking tours, micro-histories, salons, mail art exhibits, PROject proJECT events, Art Rat gatherings, festivals, house shows, micropress publishing, network correspondence, poems and texts, facebook posts and comment-streams, emails, conversations...

EACH ONE, TEACH ONE

FORMAT: Free
TECHNIQUE: Free
SIZE: Free
PARTICIPATION: Open to all
TERMS: No jury, no returns
EXHIBITION, organized by Warren Fry:

@ The Liminal Gallery, Community High School,
from November 11, 2016 until December 16, 2016
DOCUMENTATION: online
DEADLINE: November 7, 2016

Send To:
Jim Leftwich
525 10th St. S.W.
Roanoke, VA 24016 USA

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Camilla Hansen
What would real democracy look like?
August 2, 2013
ROAR Magazine

In the original model of participatory budgeting that was created in Porto Alegre, Brazil, several rules were built into the process that encouraged participation and ensured transparency and accountability. The more residents that participated in a certain neighborhood assembly, the more delegates that neighborhood got in the regional forums that could argue for their neighborhood's priorities. This mechanism mobilized many, especially from the poor and marginalized neighborhoods to participate.[iii]

Additionally, the municipal administration hired community organizers who informed the residents about the process and encouraged people to participate. To prevent the establishment of a professionalized political class, all delegates were recallable and their terms were limited and short (1-2 years). The mayor and the municipal administration participated in the meetings, so that the residents could hold them to account. And to ensure transparency, all meetings were open to the public and all information was made accessible.

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Ruth Needleman
Participatory Budgeting: A School for Citizenship

February 16, 2016
ZNet

The groups get technical support in planning and costing out their projects, and an on-going education in government budgeting. With each year, the number of “seasoned” participants grows, and as the projects get built, greater interest and credibility in the process grow as well. The process creates engagement, awareness, collectivity and trust.

Canoas is an industrial city, built on refineries and industrial processing of oil, gas and steel. Emphasis is placed on environmental issues and justice to make sure that the poorest do not have to survive in the most polluted areas. Apart from the Participatory Budgeting, for example, it is a citywide priority to move any land occupation or settlement located near environmental dangers to safer areas with added city and state funding to provide housing.

Without these other social programs and democratic vehicles for participation, the Budgeting alone could be too small to win the trust and support of the people. This is why in Canoas education plays a central role in awakening and mobilizing the people.

It is not just any education, not just vocational training nor literacy. It is called “Citizenship Education,” and grew out of revolutionary experiments in education for transformation, originally initiated by educator and philosopher Paulo Freire. The education fosters confidence, broader perspectives, critical thinking and a validation of the values of fairness, justice and equality.

Numerous cities around the world already practice or have tried participatory budgeting, but without the framework of a new participatory system and new forms of education, it is very hard to implement and sustain.

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The Evolution of Union Co-ops and the Historical Development of Workplace Democracy
By James Anderson
April 30, 2016
ZNet

Chris Cooper, program coordinator at the Ohio Employee Ownership Center, said the USW soon started experimenting with other forms of worker ownership, though, through Employee Stock Ownership Plans, or ESOPs, in the 1980s and 1990s. Given the poor financial situation of

many of the companies involved, ESOPs had greater appeal than co-ops because the former offered tax breaks as key components of the deals the union negotiated.

The USW created the Worker Ownership Institute in the early 1990s, and Cooper said the OEOC became actively involved in myriad unionized worker ownership deals. In 1998, former OEOC director John Logue published a best practices manual, “Participatory Employee Ownership” for the WOI with the aim of increasing worker participation at unionized ESOPs because, as Cooper notes, they “are not by default as democratic as co-ops.”

Unfortunately, Cooper added, many companies that implemented ESOPs already suffered irreparable financial distress, which led to both union concessions and procurement of capital from outside sources. The union compromises bred distrust of worker ownership, while the outside investment diluted ownership. Many in the labor movement came to associate workplace democracy with its denatured practice in struggling ESOPs as a result.

“That kind of tainted employee ownership as a movement, especially with the unions, I think for a few decades,” Sushil Jacob, supervising attorney at the East Bay Community Law Center and author of “Think Outside the Boss: How to Create a Worker-Owned Business,” said, “because unions viewed ESOPs as management attempts to offload troubled, high debt-laden companies onto the workers and basically put the debt onto the workers’ backs.”

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Camilla Hansen
What would real democracy look like?
August 2, 2013
ROAR Magazine

Certain democratic mechanisms are essential to participatory institutions, as they prevent the establishment of a cemented and professionalized political class insulated from ordinary citizens and local communities. Such mechanisms include short and limited terms for elected delegates, and delegates being recallable at any time. Rotation of delegates is another way to prevent creation of elites and to ensure diversity and mass participation. In the Zapatistas' Councils of Good Government, for example, each citizen serves on the Council for only two weeks, before they go back to their communities.

Another mechanism that effectively prevents the establishment of elites and ensures the participation of ordinary citizens in decision-making and as holders of political offices, is sortition, or selection by lot. The use of lot played an important role in the democracy of ancient

Athens, where most positions of political authority were selected this way. For Aristotle, selection by lot was central to democracy, while elections were the mark of oligarchy. In the Athenian democracy, lot ensured that citizens could “rule and be ruled in turn”, and together with rotation of office, it functioned as a defense against oligarchy. In modern representative systems, however, selection by lot is absent. “Democracy” is now exclusively equated with competitive elections for positions of political authority.[xi]

However, the last decades have seen a range of experiments with sortition in deliberative institutions like citizens’ assemblies, citizen juries, consensus conferences, planning cells and deliberative polls, often referred to as mini-publics. Sortition was also recently used in the first part of the process to write a new constitution in Iceland.

In mini-publics, deliberation is usually guided by independent facilitators; the participants hold hearings in which they hear evidence from and question expert witnesses; and deliberations usually take place both in plenary and in small groups. Participants are selected for mini-publics through the use of statistical sampling to ensure that citizens from all social groups are represented. Sortition differs from popular assemblies in that equal opportunity to participate is replaced by equal probability to being selected to participate. This way, no citizens or social groups are systemically excluded from participation.

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08.06.2016

from are we electoral fundamentalists?
By Claudia Chwalisz.
January 2015

Van Reybrouck poses the pertinent question: Why is it that our democratic institutions date back to the late-eighteenth century while we have progressed in other areas of society? “Today, elections have become primitive... it would be like narrowing aviation down to the Montgolfier, while ignoring the more recent arrival of high-tension lines, light aircraft, new climatic patterns, tornadoes and space stations.” In the twenty-first-century, we live in a hyper-connected, interactive society where communication is decentralised and more vociferous citizen voices can be heard. In an age of social media, where people are not just readers but also armchair

editors, we have witnessed an enormous power shift, one that fails to be reflected in our archaic forms of governance: “the grey, decrepit institutions of an exhausted, moribund administrative elite,” as the Crick Centre’s Matthew Wood eloquently phrases it in a recent Policy Network piece. The traditional, patriarchal model of political parties is unfit for an era where citizens are more outspoken than ever: “The citizen is neither a customer nor a child. At the start of this third millennium, relationships are much more horizontal,” Van Reybrouck writes. The vertical, centralised, hierarchical model of representative democracy is antiquated and in desperate need of renewal. The nature of leadership has evolved; it is no longer about making difficult decisions on behalf of the people, but about initiating processes in consultation with these people.

Although Van Reybrouck does not mention it in his account, equally relevant is Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page’s study of the influence of elites, interest groups and average citizens in the US policy process. While not quite a reiteration of Rousseau, it is nonetheless a contemporary claim that the American system is an oligarchy, controlled by a small group of economic elites. When it considers the perennial question of whose voice is being heard, Gilens and Page’s data indicates that the “median voter” theory – which suggests that policy will come closest to the preferences of the average voter – is completely wrong. Strikingly, they find that the preferences of the average citizen have zero impact upon public policy. Moreover, elites also have a far greater ability to shape the issues that policymakers consider in the first place, and exhibit a capacity to shape the public’s preferences. Gilens and Page provide empirical evidence to indicate that economic elites amplify the voices of our established political class, drowning out the common man and woman. Like Van Reybrouck, they conclude with a warning that “America’s claims to being a democracy are seriously threatened.”

Part of the power of Van Reybrouck’s polemic comes from his extensive historical pathogenesis, tracing the democratic procedure of sortition from antiquity to the Renaissance, through to its replacement by the aristocratic tradition of elections from the eighteenth century to present day. He quotes Bernard Manin’s astonishment that not even a full generation after *The Social Contract*’s publication, sortition disappeared as a form of governance; it was not even a consideration during the French and American revolutions. In *Principes du gouvernement représentatif* (Principles of Representative Government), Manin writes: “The representative government was instituted with the clear awareness that the elected representatives would be distinguished citizens, socially distinct from those who elected them.” Today, we think of these revolutions as the birth of modern democracy. At this time of relatively unanimous recognition that representative democracy is in crisis, the idea of re-introducing sortition is not as radical as it first seems when put into historical context. True, it is a serious challenge to the institutionalised party system, one that will require the established elite to relinquish of some of their power; but it is not an idea taken out of thin air – it is a centuries-old tradition, forgotten at the birth of our contemporary elected aristocracy.

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amp he riot for of iota
rein fix coerced thee onion
fort tibia error at den
it hut boa fox vision often
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iron toad phlox Liszt exit
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of video nit exam minim teflon
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08.07.2016

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model emitigated
the past mooninch
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from the anyt
kneaded electricity
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that is layer of
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by virtue of
logic applied to
value
categories of skulls

both opens itself
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heteroparticular obscurities
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add markers reciprocal
carbonize transportable fragments
endless
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instances of o'clock

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08.09.2016

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and groups on fire
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self-protests participatory
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pox upon nail-guns in
addition their privileges
hence products rapid-itself
social anarchies wound
around cultural changes
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gulf of praxis versus
skeptical differences

philosophical justice
policies achieving the
primal litmus simulacrum

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mirror of almonds
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pox upon doubts in
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hence products reaction-itself

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peculiar institutions dire
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gulf of disparity versus
skeptical returning
tooth-financial chosen
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primal leftist property

deficit healthcare public
unregulated per capita power
renewed opposed precipitation
facilitate minimum falling
contemporary version remote

return distinguished everyone
other elections abandoned
as loathing the factions
indoctrinates their regimen
discipline controlling attitudes

proxies were irresponsible
the piano dogmatisms in
trampling arc are those
revealing vein-structure
to constitute abilities

government tooth-decorum
and groups on teeth
reflected the tooth
self-teeth participatory
golf tooth convex teeth

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subsequently wealth substantial
pox upon nail-wealth in
wealth their privileges
hence products rapid-wealth

social hands anarchies view wound
around hands cultural view changes
permanent hands economic view magic
peculiar hands eyebrows view dire
dominion hands wide-over view the

gulf of praxis functioning versus
skeptical acceptable differences
philosophical fluctuation justice
policies achieving the authority
primal litmus pessimism simulacrum

identify parking prose public
intelligent ecologies ground power
precipitation renewed pollen
hat social beets brew
where seven Maryland

red turn disk ease-study significant
pest ice sides elections ale most
fall low loathing the equator

poll in ate surge of decibels
their fun gust evidence deep

proxies where in sects
the piano profess sick infection
snares arc dare contaminated
similar vein-collage lapse
tooth pressure cranberries

decends tooth-decor
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believe its elf cormorant
self-multiple part ice
sip a story plummeted
class last coin convex

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surf surviving a substantial
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whence products red action-itself

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discipline controlling altitudes

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to constitute coin abilities

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issues hands eyebrows view themselves
liberal hands wide-over view neoliberals

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philosophical fluctuation harsh
policies achieving rapacious authority
primal litmus split simulacrum

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obscenity, the book
in a book, who drowned
in the grass career.

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Okinawa. (song generation nor
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ever. considerable absurd,
grey atomic gravy at
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the morning restaurant.

on. (history generation nor
astral barking leaders
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of the winter public

ever. around relatively,
grey says gravy invasion
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obscenity, regulatory book
in a majority, who drowned
in the island career.

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Fillmore near guarantees,
the massacre restaurant.

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lights battle ultimate
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the fictional restaurant.

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restaurant the pizza.

08.10.2016

airwaves who advertising
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working hat the void
pulls to silent ground
is a risk-knot
coordinaft

redspendingcoucharmies
regic the enthusiast

mystery airwaves who advertising
is truth a vacuum
working hat desire the void
pulls to silent baffle ground
is a risk-knot thunderous
coordinate language raft
redspendingcouchperfect
mind regic the enthusiast

airwaves holy who advertising
is an honored vacuum
working hat the discursive void
pulls to silent ground paradox
is a risk-noise knot
coordinates after endless
opposites structural incongruities
rationalize the enthusiast

nonsense who advertising
is a speech vacuum
working thunder the void
subverts to silent ground
is a risk rumbling-knot
incomprehensible glance
noisic revelations
dwell the riddles

airwaves who teaching
is a language-vacuum
working characteristics void
identifies divisive letters

is a consciousness/reality
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oooaoa aoaoao o ao oaoao
invisible the unnameable

mystery airwaves who (in
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coordinate language/word,
redspending Light) perfect
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John Crouse and Jim Leftwich

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED THIRTY EIGHT

attacks average encyclopedia: "rood dime cement"
electronic suite overlooked: "bear us able"
institute demo disparity: "ax less musk"
award potty outlier: "clear eat nests"
membership equine goodbyes: "ember ward ship"
readiness aggressive cornerstone: "in stick cute"
muscle gunk refresh: "lecture at lacks"
axles nothing clumsily: "a veer rage"
usable quickest convincing: "sweet suit quite"
beer editor francophone: "demon emotion out"
vehement dunce summons: "peek quinine egg"
rudimentary riverbank pregnancy: "reef thresh clump."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED THIRTY NINE

ed ng ar: "ay ey ay"
ay ew et: "ay yy ay"
ch ds ep: "ay uy ay"
nt ry de: "ay iy ay"
ic ir ow: "ay oy ay"
ek ss ff: "ay ao ay"
ll ot al: "ay ai ay"

en ho mp: "ay au ay"
ng re gs: "ay ay ay"
ce id ya: "ay ae ay"
ew lo ce: "ay aa ay"
rd ts rn: "ay ae ay."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED FORTY

bagatelles folklore violation: "bog dog ate"
to spell violation: "folk ore viola"
with cantilevered violation: "lotion tooth spill"
demonstrating grammar violation: "viola lotion with"
declensions nuts violation: "can tile ever"
slang spiky violation: "lever red viola"
challenge true violation: "lotion demon strafe"
think that violation: "rating ate grammar"
more elaborate violation: "ram mar viola"
roommate undergo violation: "lotion decal lens"
society oddest violation: "scion ions snit"
osmosis withdraws violation: "viola lotion slang."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED FORTY ONE

the river was: "washing the presidency"
the unwound was: "washing the bakery"
the unfinished was: "washing the gig"
the southwest was: "washing the laid"
the poking was: "washing the crooned"
the familiar was: "washing the crisp"
the crisp was: "washing the familiar"
the crooned was: "washing the poking"
the laid was: "washing the southwest"
the gig was: "washing the unfinished"
the bakery was: "washing the unwound"
the presidency was: "washing the river."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED FORTY TWO

slender humiliation dupe: "slender presidency bakery"
mourning armchair chocolate: "mourning slender presidency"
dismissed accountable penalty: "dismissed mourning slender"
description blood mother: "description dismissed mourning"
tattoo superintendent eyewitness: "tattoo description dismissed"
disturbing community immediate: "disturbing tattoo description"
accident nut coincidentally: "accident disturbing tattoo"
fingers president lightning: "fingers accident disturbing"
slammed conversation economic: "slammed fingers accident"
insanity booger directly: "insanity slammed fingers"
backdrop allegations depletion: "backdrop insanity slammed"
absent pussy canonical: "absent backdrop insanity."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED THIRTY THREE

transaction geophysical puke: "puke specialist lotion"
specialist lotion archive: "archive membership publisher"
membership publisher casket: "casket enhanced drum"
enhanced drum archaeological: "archaeological sweetness refund"
sweetness refund chicken: "chicken wheeled wheedled"
wheeled wheedled rehabilitation: "rehabilitation spooned foreign"
spooned foreign evolution: "evolution twang urn"
twang urn proxy: "proxy statement bulk"
statement bulk perspectives: "perspectives hoop renaissance"
hoop renaissance schooner: "schooner therapy previously"
therapy previously unsalted: "unsalted toy climate"
toy climate authentication: "authentication transaction geophysical."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED FORTY FOUR

hurdle rally underpass: "pass under ally"
updated boom truncate: "ate cat run"
accuracy establish folders: "trunk broom date"
graph example reinforce: "force rein ample"
completion behavior victim: "time or have"
boots rockets mediation: "lion dial mud"
shoelaces fraud university: "kits rock roots"
corporations kerchief blurred: "verse dune laces"
tinker abundant professional: "red shoe chief"
justice urine restorative: "nail ant bun"
predatory fracturing buttonhole: "hive store rind"
holler observance governmental: "hole button mental."

ACT EIGHT THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED FORTY FIVE

lettuce commander occasional: "lettuce spiritual speech"
spiritual phlegm beadwork: "commander phlegm feedback"
speech feedback endeavors: "tongue hairstyle channel"
edits tongue attorney: "speculation is overtaken"
pogrom hairstyle underlie: "jog intentional proportional"
mammal channel milkshake: "edits pogrom mammal"
prioritize speculation pertaining: "prioritize what communication"
what is russia: "holler predatory justice"
communication overtaken syllabic: "observance fracturing urine"
autism jog pizza: "governmental buttonhole restorative"
macroscopic intentional trustworthiness: "tinker corporations shoelaces"
neediness proportional macaroon: "boots completion graph."

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08.11.2016

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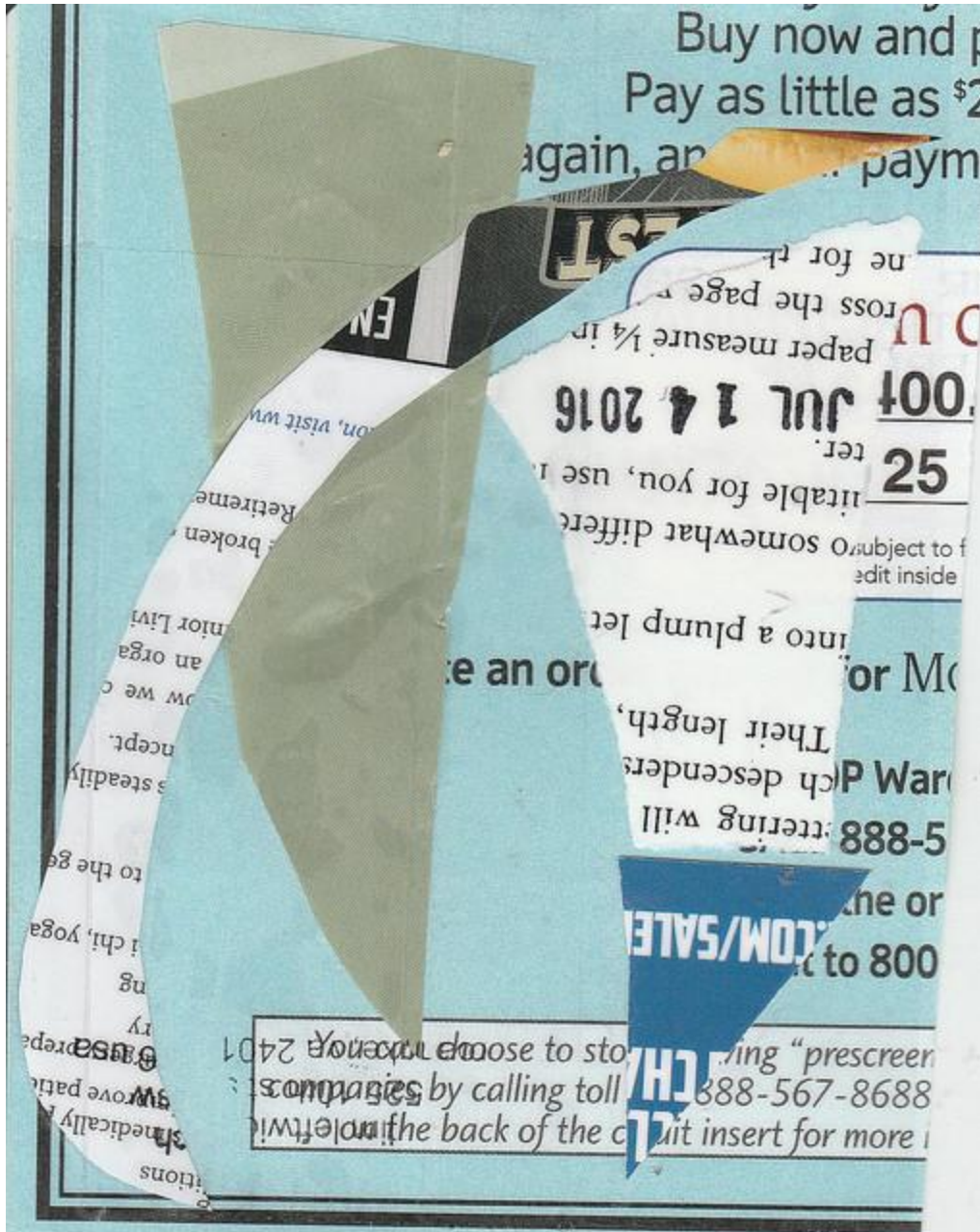
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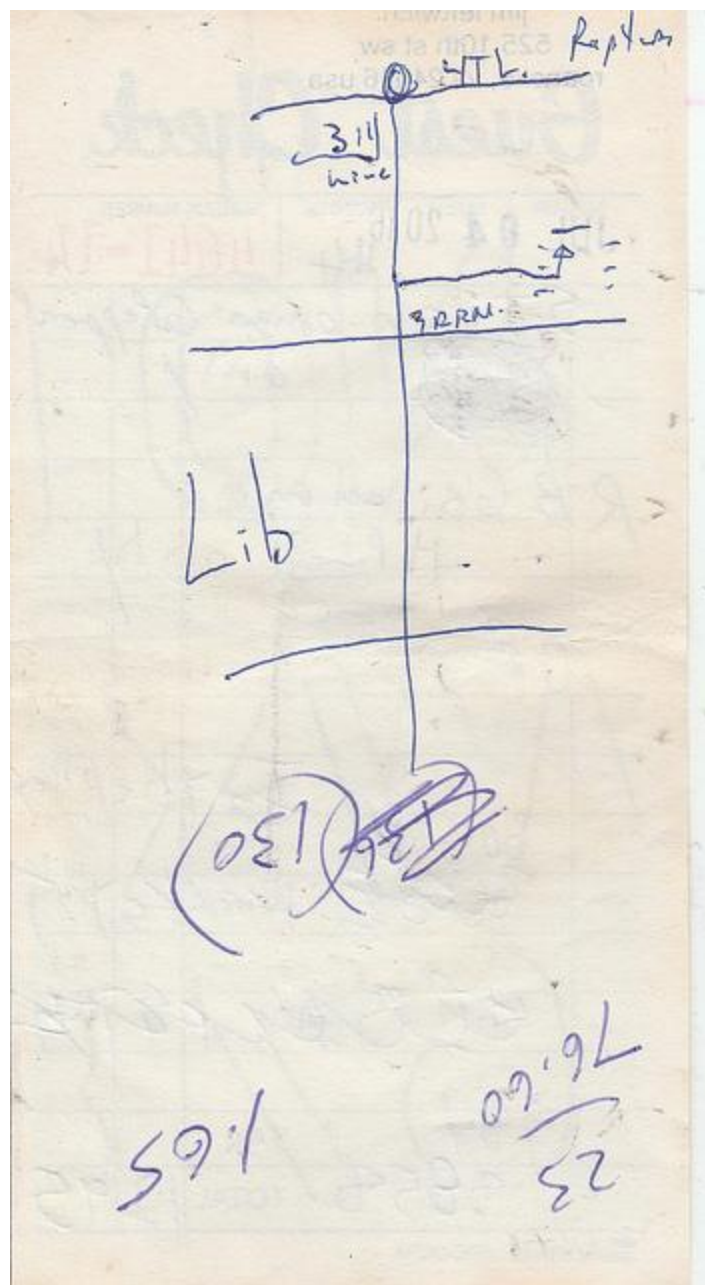
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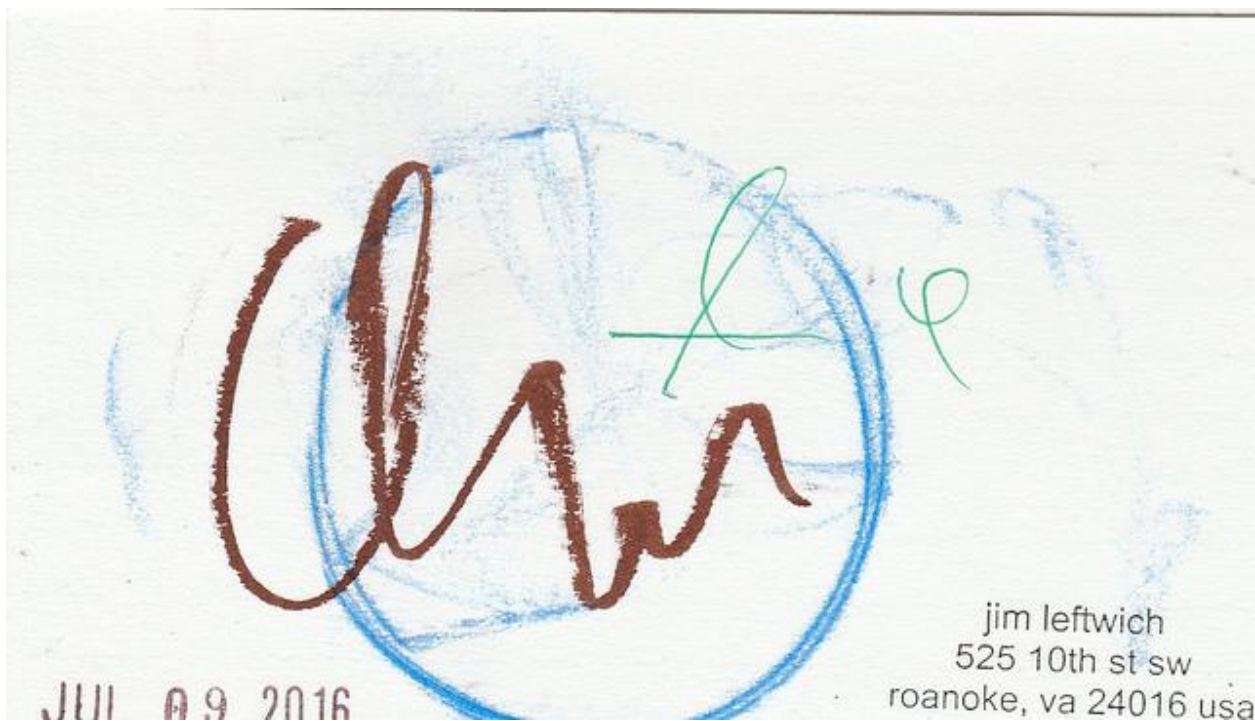
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they know. billion campaign
to campbig over turnip
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enthusiastic chants.

08.12.2016







65° west of south, or far enough to the desired check. Accordingly the sun was observed at altitude 55° 15' working the sight gave an intercept of 0.8 Toward and Z_n 25 D.R. When plotted this was considered as confirming the position.

A late afternoon sight with the sun at 15° high and bearing some 15° north of west, not shown on the chart, further indicated the ship's position was well in hand, and the day's sights for the day.

309. Almost under the sun. Observation of the sun's maximum altitude for latitude at the meridian is somewhat difficult when the sun is near the zenith because of the rapidly changing azimuth and altitude. Under these circumstances an observation near noon gives an arc of position which may be used as an earlier line or arc advanced for a running fix.

An actual fix may be had, conditions permitting, by crossing two or more arcs of position resulting from observations a few minutes of noon. George Adams' experience on the *Albatross*, 1899, illustrates such a case. Note at the right of the work that the G.H.A. of second sight is found simply by adding difference of longitude, converted into arc, to G.H.A. of first sight.

The experienced navigator, accustomed to a fast ship which may be moving rapidly east or west, will note that the 17 arc should be advanced westward to an 1157-1208 position. A position in time of 11 minutes may be disregarded on a sailing craft. Differences are recognized and plotted in Chapter 23.

This chapter has detailed a day's work in navigation. The same general methods serve for carrying on the work with the stars, planets, and the moon.

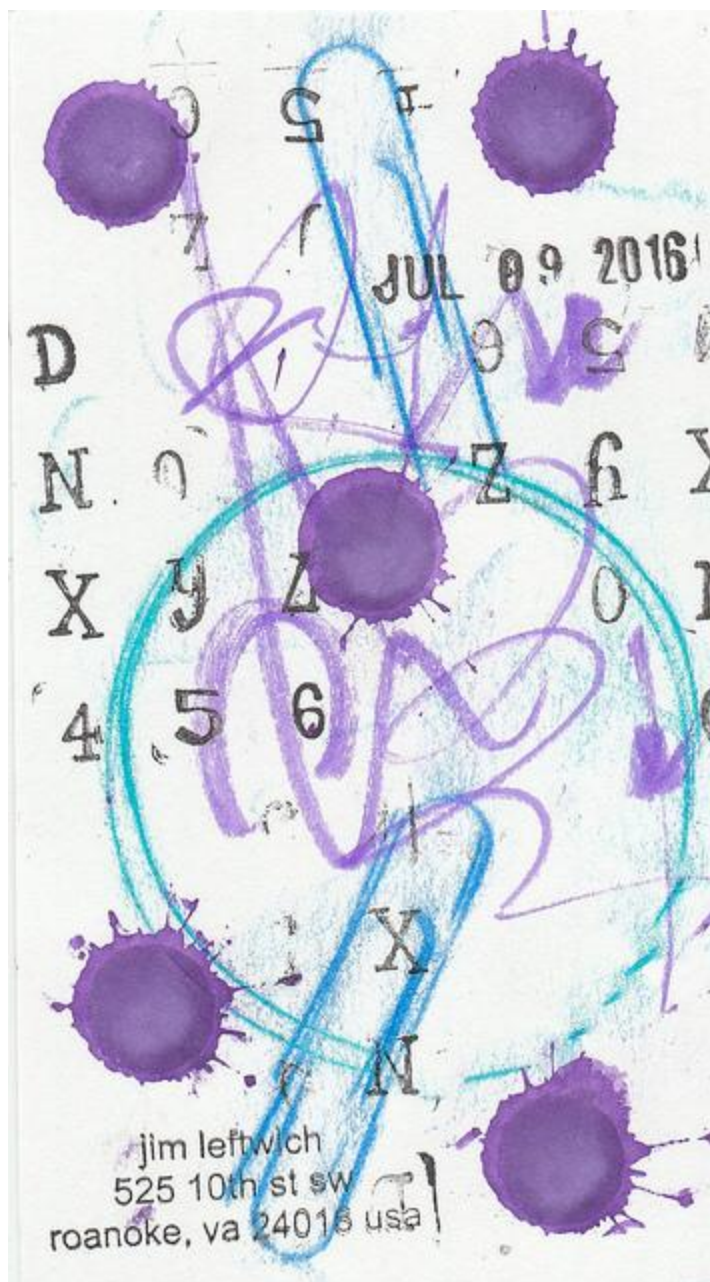
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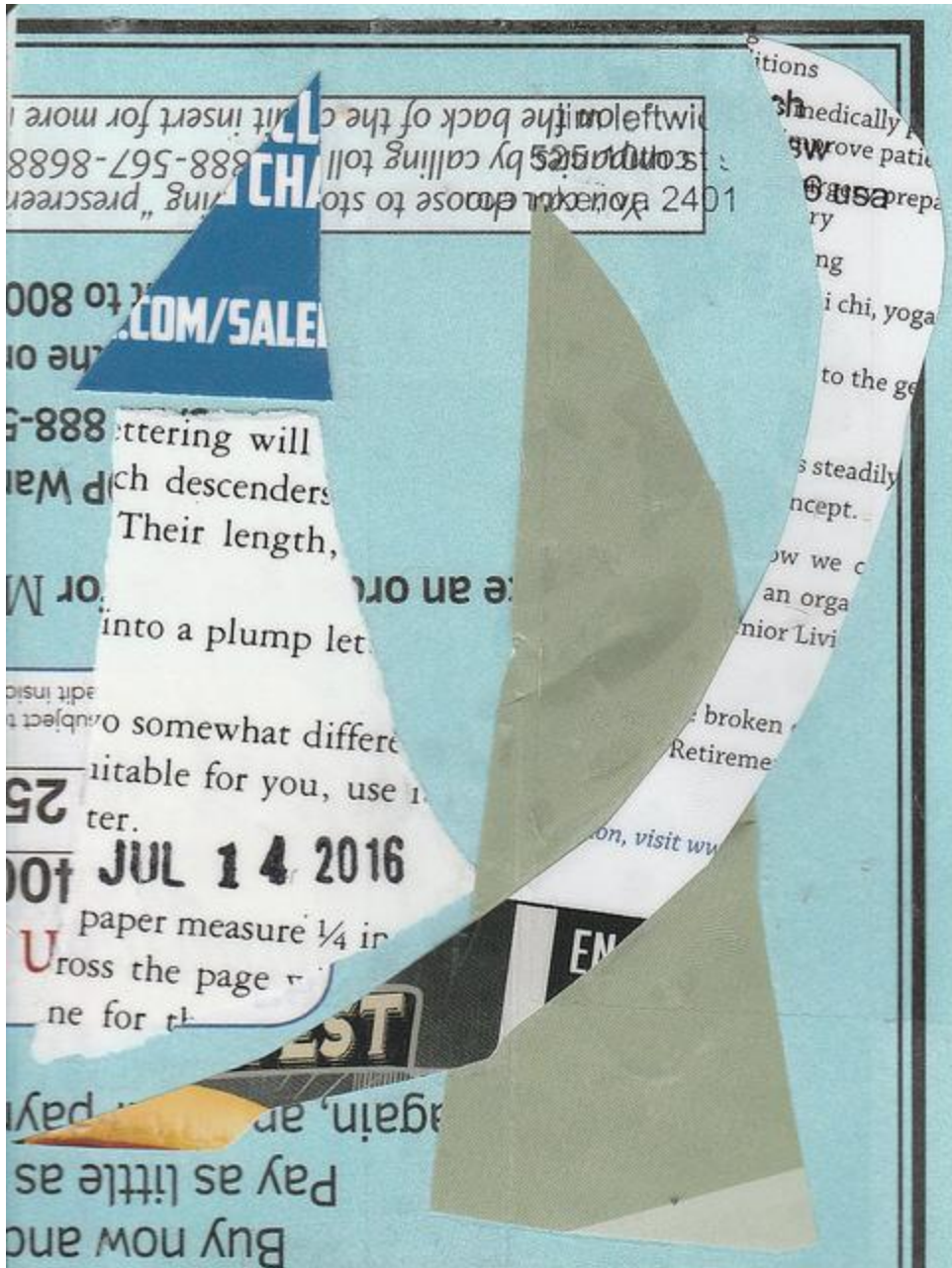
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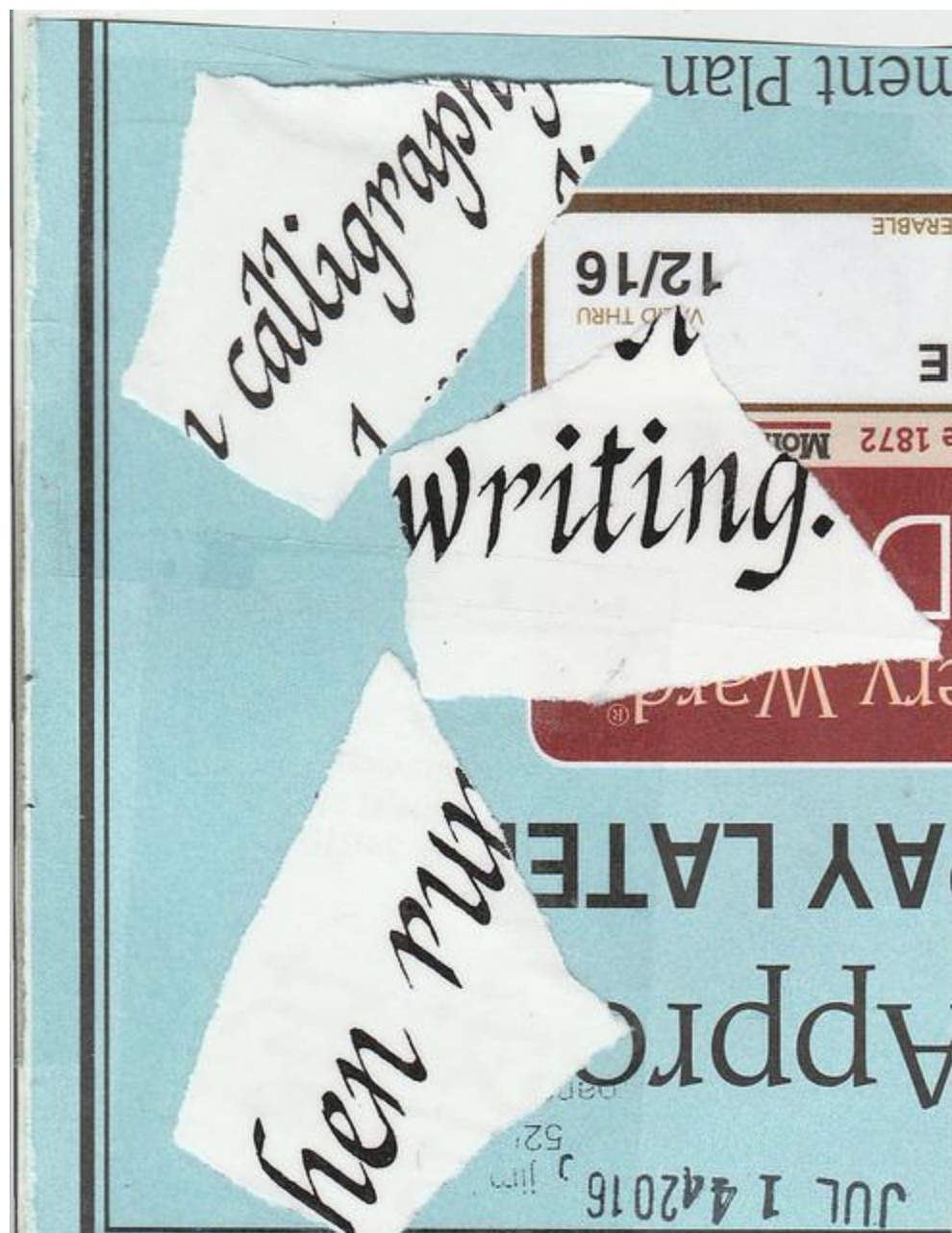
1964, the number of Russian ships visiting Vietnam rose to 185, one ship every 122 the previous year. China, with a luke- towards its bordering neighbor, chipped in less of \$35 million of military aid in 1965 and \$5 the following year, most of it in small arms and The Chinese also provided much needed foodstuffs, 200,000 tons in 1966 and 500,000 in the follow-

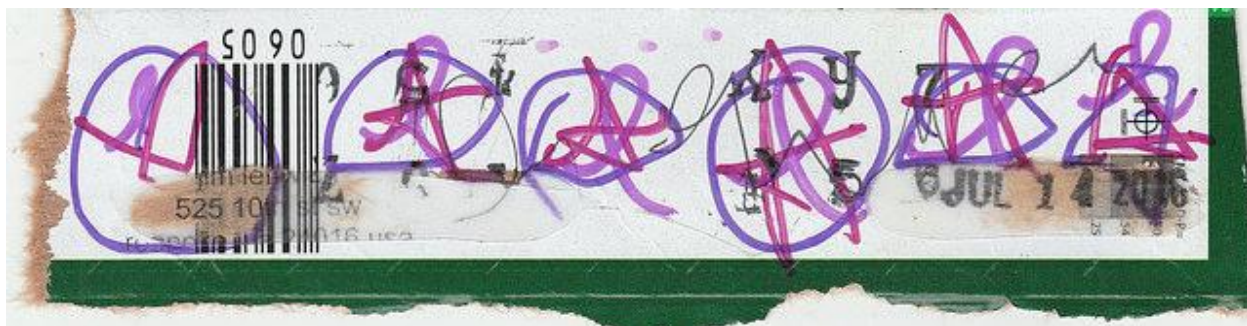
As technology in the Soviet and Chinese largesse, North Vietnamese SAM sites grew from a round zero in mid-1964 to an estimated 1,000 years later of two hundred SAM sites in the Hanoi area alone. Some thirty missile battalions in the Hanoi area alone. Each battalion contained up to six missile launchers, each with a company radar, computers, and general support personnel. Surface-to-air missiles, however, were just one element in the defense plans to reckon with. By September 1967, North Vietnam included some eight thousand lethal AAA guns firing twenty-five thousand tons of ammunition each month at American planes, a complex radar system, and no fewer than 100 control centers. An elaborate warning system was devised, more sophisticated systems keyed by SAM sites to observe ships on duty near American carriers. North Vietnamese ships reported how many aircraft were leaving the sea, their bomb load, and side numbers, and it wasn't difficult for the North Vietnamese to compute when the aircraft arrived, and to prepare a welcoming committee. The primitive systems utilized searchlight towers, whistles, drums, and sirens to alert the forces of impending attacks. North Vietnamese air force evolved from nothing in 1964 to a fleet of approximately 115 MiG aircraft by March 1967, a figure exceeded by the number of MiGs shot down by U.S. Navy and Air Force aircraft throughout the same time period. The quality and quantity of North Vietnamese pilots was certainly questionable. In 1967, only forty-eight U.S. aircraft by 1967 were shot down to 111 MiGs downed by Americans in the same period. Like their counterparts on the ground manning SAM and AAA sites, many MiG pilots learned their new-found profession in a hurry.

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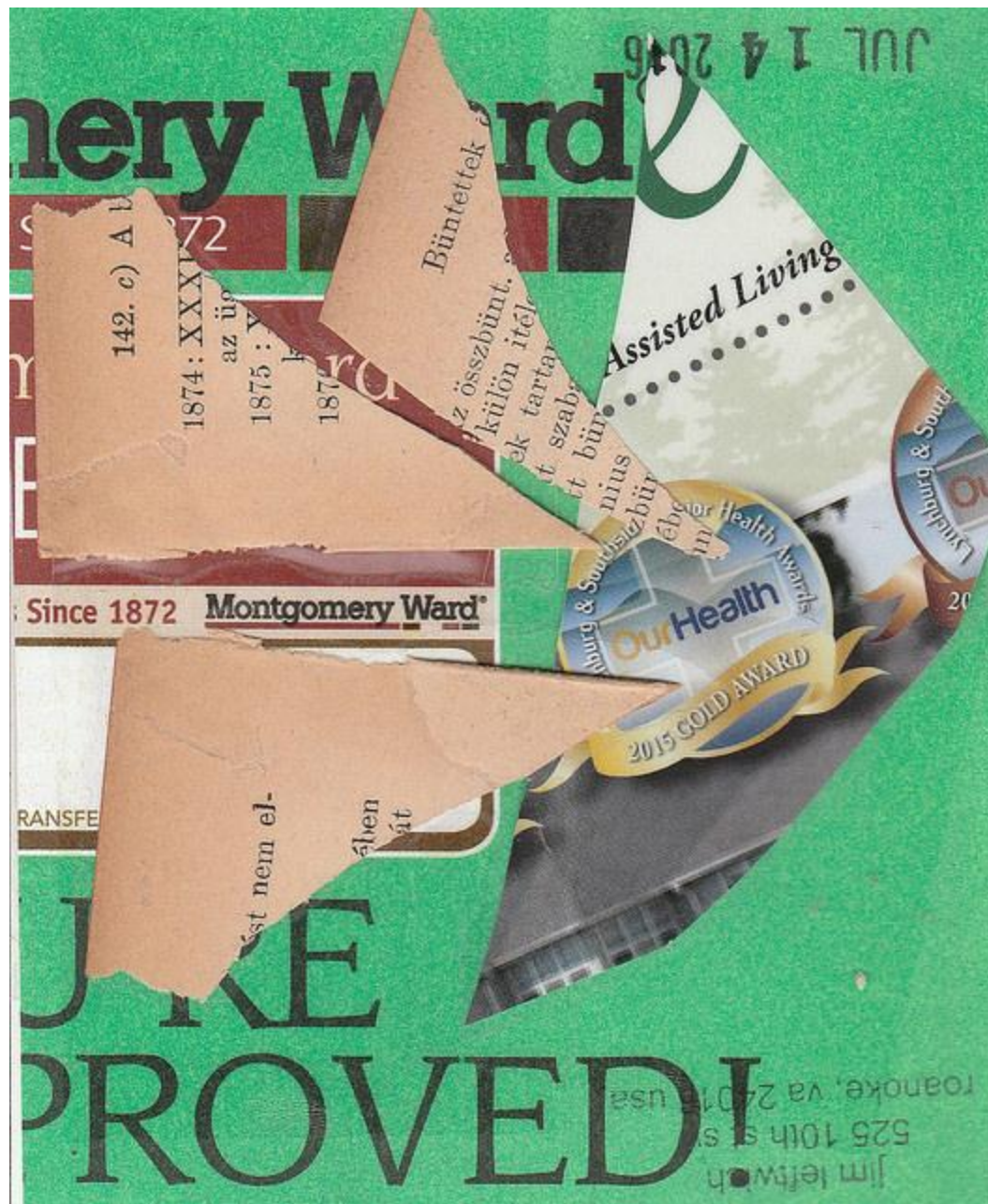
name quality and value

A. Wa... Speakers by Supersonic
Bring the pulse of your music to life! This set of speakers has four multicolored LED lights that shoot water up as they dance to the rhythm. Just connect your device with an auxiliary input (cable included). Powered via mini USB port (cable included). 2½" diam, 9" h, each.

SQ741311 \$39.95

B. Digital Video Camera by
Do more than just capture moments—get a little creative too. All the basics like a built-in microphone and speaker, 8 GB SDHC card, built-in timer and a 2.7" LCD display that lets you see what you're shooting as you're shooting it. Have a little

B



... Vietnamese ...
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 ... Republic of South Vietnam ...
 ... ons were either to leave the c ...
 ... ary activity. President Johnson, t ...
 ... arch-conservative Barry Goldwater ...
 ... by promising to keep Ameri ...

17 2016

PART SEVEN

1972-1973

I implore you, I beg you to consider what you are doing. There are peasants. They grow rice and rear pigs. They are similar to the farmers in the Midwest many years ago in the United States. . . . Are these people your enemy? What will you say to your children years from now who may ask you why you fought the war?

Actress Jane Fonda, during a July 1972 visit to Hanoi, asking American pilots to reconsider their participation in the Vietnam War in a broadcast over "Voice of Vietnam Radio."

...ough as we ...
 ... this country that makes ...
 ...tter, tougher than anybody ...
 ... media propagates that. The movi ...
 ...ayne getting beaten, and blood runn ...
 ... type stuff. When first exposed to t ...
 ...ou've got that attitude: "I'll hang in t ...
 ... but they're not going to get me." I ...
 ... not that tough, and the reality of the ...
 ... Mentally, I'm not as tough as I'd li ...
 ...'m tougher than some, yet not as

...ir Force pilot [who on ...
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jim leftwich
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 roanoke, va 24016 usa

525 10th St SW

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Improving America's Streets Since

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face of overtone

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an army of
washing machines

the soap-propeller
contains
the cartoon

has planned
its souls
in proportion
to its
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the social demon
is more intelligent
than the secret demon

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upheaval is the hope
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in a time of reason
and ancient unity?

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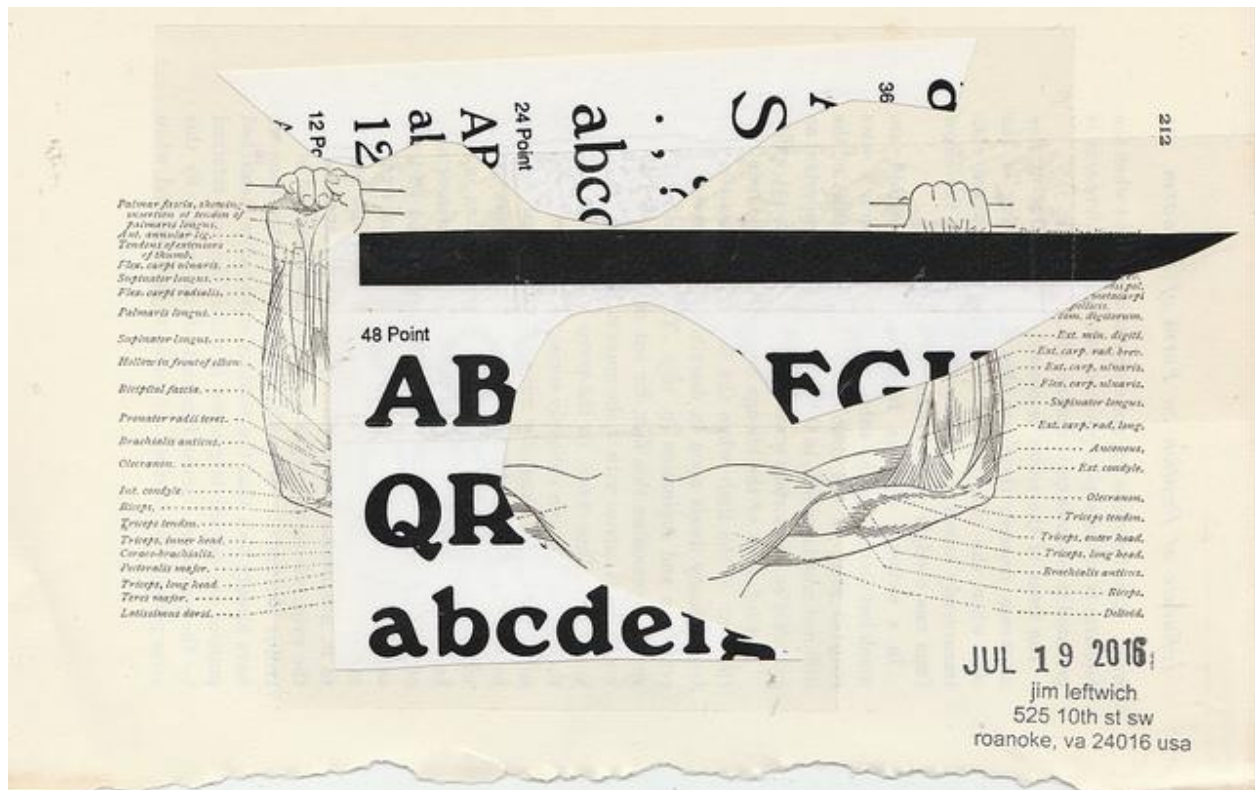
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name quality and value

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... at the ... of
... Australia, 1982. From Ivan
... Cultures: The Poetics

JUL 14 2016

BASIC ROMAN AND FLOU... LIC 93



JUL 14 2016

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